/170 cont./

291 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art, /171/ the most interesting article was: a buritĩ shirt -- "the" shirt of the upper Schingũ -- which proved the invention of [286] clothing even among the Bakaïrĩ. The fibers were knotted in meshes, following the method for the hammock; the doublet was wide at the neck in order to be stepped into; it had short sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which long fibers hung down. Many simple, meter-long buritĩ-fiber 372 237 hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fire-fans had small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells, ●535

345 352 353

In the Bakaïrĩ festival-hut.

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle 534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds, impaled on a stick (1).

[171]

1. Hans Stadl (1556) tells of the "Tuppin Inbas": "They believe in a thing that grows like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure scoop. It is hollow inside; they stick a little stick through it, cut a little hole in it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

/173 cont./

●535 In the evening there was a musical performance. A flickering fire of twigs faintly illuminated the night. The men appeared [534] in pairs with menis, the meter-long flutes; one had the rattling shells tied around his foot. One pair stationed themselves near us, the other one in front of the opposite house. The former started to blow, stamping rhythmically with the right foot in one spot, our two dipped the menis in water and cried loudly "uh -- uh," then started to blow also and began moving toward the hut at the left, beating time regularly with the right foot. The ones across the way came blowing toward us, while the others, without ceasing their melancholy wail, stood still again, stamping and bending their bodies forward. Finally this pair, too, returned to their starting point; during the finale the lament of the night wind whistling in the chimney increased to the most miserable wail, and the quartet [212] was at an end. Courteously we were then immediately served the strengthening mingau.

This was the "tŏtŏdidlte," a word infinitely jollier than the dance itself, which it designates.

122 21 Aug. φ 12° 49'.3, λ 14'.3, km. 11.08, total 212.80.
132 /174/ 11:00 A.M.: I 745.8, II 736.4, dry. 29.0.
5:20 P.M.: I 743.6, II 734.2, dry. 27.0, wet. 24.1, water 25.8.

ooo Back to the camp early. During the night the bottom of Israel's canoe split with a bang and the load sank. Some of Wilhelm's things, among them the oil sketches of the place of embarkation, were destroyed. The beans lay in the water for hours.

122 Off at 1:00 in the afternoon; soon there was campo on the right; we noticed a hut which we investigated; it did not seem to [415] be finished or else was merely a supply station. A number of well-filled baskets, pots, bags with gourd vessels, a rack for the puvas, and bunches of urucũ capsules, whose angular seeds furnish the red pigment, were completely abandoned. The path to a roça led into the woods.

/64 cont./

291 the upper arms or under one knee or above one ankle. One youth
301 or another would also stick a feather into his pierced ear-lobe;
304 one must not think, however, that the Indian always appears in his entire festive array, as on tobacco-store signs.

ooo I should like, however, to say a few words at this point about the general impression that the "nakedness" makes on the unself-conscious visitor. One does not see this evil nakedness at all after a quarter of an hour, and if one then purposely reminds oneself of it and asks whether the naked human beings, father, mother, children, who are innocently standing or walking around there ought to be condemned or pitied because of their lack of modesty, one must either laugh about it as about something incredibly silly or raise a protest against it as against something contemptible. From the aesthetic standpoint the lack of covering has its pros and cons, like all truth: youth and vigor often looked delightful in their unconstrained movements, old age and disease
291 often dreadful in their decay. Our clothing seemed as strange
123 to the good people as their nakedness seemed to us. I was accompanied by men and women when I went to bathe and was obliged to submit to having all my onion skins examined in the greatest detail. They lacked any understanding of the embarrassed feeling that I was well-bred enough to feel with respect to their curiosity; they thoughtfully examined my Polynesian tattooing, especially a blue kiwi of New Zealand, but, to my satisfaction, they were obviously disappointed by the fact that there were not greater wonders hidden under the careful and unusual packing.

123 They themselves, of course, also wore something resem-
535 bling clothes for their masquerade and dance, apparel plaited out of palm straw, the name of which is ẽti = house, and thus my shirt was given the grand name of "back-house"; I had a "head-house" and a "leg-house." Since the women do not dance and only the men may use this apparel in their flute-house, Eva's question as to whether "karãiba pekõto," the women of the Karaiben, also wore clothes, "houses," was probably not so un-
ooo justified. -- How quickly one can become accustomed to the naked

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
● 535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.
231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zőto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[171] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramöke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
974 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijús were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/89 cont./

574 [437] always standing ready, a thin, very sweet püserego was offered in superabundance, and for our beads we obtained a supply of fine polvilho flour for the journey.

462 The women baking away so busily seemed to us small and ugly, but friendly. They fetched water only accompanied by men.

●535 When I was in Iguéti the first time on 20 September with Vogel and Ehrenreich, we experienced a strange scene which I should like to insert here. We were sitting in the flute-house in the evening when a few came in, squatted down beside the ashes of the fire, and uttered a loud ih... Then a couple of others put on the straw apparel hanging there and ran around for a while like roaring lions. I believed it to be pure fun and pastime, but all of them remained perfectly serious. Then one of the maskers ran outside while the chorus again cried ih...hi, stuck his arms out of the straw, and made a rustling sound with the fringe. He disappeared into a house and soon came out again, laden with beijú and fish. The same thing was repeated, and Luchu was the third to go, returning with drink. The departure was always announced by the general ih..., so that the people in the houses were prepared. Since the straw apparel covers the entire body down to the feet, the person that hides in it cannot be recognized.

/90/ Later in the evening three men started to sing. They [534] stepped close to the door entrance of the flute-house, and, to be sure, in such a way that they turned their backs to the rest of us; two of them shook the gourd rattle, which differs from our first cradle toy only in the material, and the third stamped in steady [533] perseverance with his right foot. The three sang: ĩhaĩ, ĩhãĩĩ huχõ, ihaĩ ohuhoχõ.... Perhaps the eternal huχu, huχo is nothing but the word for "foot," which, pupu in ancient Karaibe, changed phonetically to χuχu, huχu. It was a solemn, almost melancholy sounding, but very powerful "makanari," as the Bakaïrĩ call their festival songs. Ehrenreich was very impatient with the invariable, unchanging monotony of the singing, rattling, and stamping; for my part, however, I can only say that the very sameness made an impression on me and in a way intoxicated

/90 cont./

535 and captivated me. Others placed themselves behind the three, sang and stamped along with them, more and more joined, and finally those nearest the door ran out, bent over and one following the other, the entire train trotted in a long chain over to the chief's house with uninterrupted ohúhoχõ, came back to the flute-house, and back and forth across the plaza; we guests did not fail to take part in at least a few rounds of the musical marathon, but the good Bakaïrí ran, sang, stamped -- the whole night. It thus seems to be a very old custom to dance until broad daylight. Except that the men did the work by themselves. It was excellent to go to sleep by; like the familiar and often tested method of falling asleep by imagining an endless herd of sheep jumping over a fence and counting the individual leaping animals, their firm ohõhuχõ hypnotized with deadly certainty.

On our second visit we saw nothing of the kind.

123 A small shooting demonstration aroused more fear than astonishment; the women ran behind the houses; a tall youth fled into the hammock and covered his ears. After the third shot the chief begged "ãle," "it is enough." Afterwards they again had a desire for it and set tasks, to hit birds circling high in the air, which only Cooper's hunters could have fulfilled. At any rate, one must beware of sending off a shot about which one is not certain.

The photographic apparatus was set up opposite the chief's house; Aramöke accepted the invitation, stuck his head under the black cloth, viewed the picture with great pleasure, and chattered enthusiastically about it. The others did not trust the thing.

342 Aramöke's house, a magnificent example of primitive architecture, was larger and more carefully built than Paleko's in
353 Maigéri. Many storage baskets were piled up between the center
531 posts, and from the dome hung numerous maize birds and cobs. What absorbed our interest primarily, however, was a frieze of crude drawings which ran all around, about two meters above the doors, to a total length of about 56 meters. /91/ On narrow sheets of blackened tree bark, dots, rings, linear patterns, and in between

/92 cont./

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along
574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
576 changed with great volubility.

áma, you = that is you. ehé úra, yes, I = indeed, that is I. bakaïrí úra, I (am a) Bakaïrí. kχaráiba úra, I (am a) Karaibe. bakaïrí kχúra, (the) Bakaïrí (are) good. kχaráiba iwakulukúlu, (the) Karaiben (are) very good. píma áma? (are) you (the) chief? píma úra, I (am the) chief.

123 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaïrí and admired him and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors, buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that in the case of Porisa it was my notebook that was most appreciated, and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings, but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm, in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution of the Kulisehu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the Trumaí still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated, much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses, we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil-
534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a
[532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae. During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

• 535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance costume; two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference, covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koálu, which
126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic
301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
237 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue
534 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are
283

/277 cont./

*171 532 825 the animal motif is predominant here. Aside from the fact that the pots are made to look like gourds, from which they probably arose, it is solely and entirely a matter of imitation of animals. [535] Only in the dance art is there an equally inexhaustible abundance of motifs which arise from the joy in the hunting life and its observations.

*171 532 The plastic art, too, still permits one clearly to recognize that it was originally merely descriptive. We must not expect to be able to trace its course back as far as in the case of drawing, the best efforts of which still remain a sort of cartographic enumeration of the characteristic features and preserve these even in the geometric modification, but we have here another indication which is no less clear. In the fashioning of bodily forms the material that is being worked on comes to the fore much more than in the incising of lines. Just as rhyme often furnishes the thought, so does a form already present often furnish the motif. Thus, there is a very striking frugality shown in the characteristic features that are stressed; any small resemblance is sufficient to define the object as a particular creature. On a higher level, the native adorns a utensil with a freely invented motif, and this then sinks into geometric stylization exactly like the drawings.

*171 301 532 /278/ Small chain-figures. The meager characterization is most striking in the small figures which are kept on the neck chains, mostly those of babies and very small children, between the seed kernels, the shell beads, and the nut beads. The material [239] is wholly unimportant. A piece of the convolution of the rose-colored snail shell has an edge which runs into irregular projections and indentations: that is a crayfish. The Bakaïrí [239] cut birds and fish out of the shell of the caramujo branco, [136] Orthalicus melanostomus. We see a shield-shaped piece, the body, which at the bottom continues into a narrower tail and at the top into a sort of neck piece (Fig. 63). This "neck piece," however, is the head, commonly pierced at the side to receive the string, and seems to be treated quite indifferently. If the tail piece is notched like a fin, we have before us a fish instead of a bird. /Figure 63 appears here./

/280 cont./

nothing more than the pubic band with the bark belt holding it. A "Bororó man" was represented by a palm leaf strip folded in the same way and then only a thread tied around it, the waist cord, which he wears besides his cuff and wore long before the invention of the cuff.

The straw figures of the Bakaïrí dance festivals are a special group. I shall have to discuss them in connection with the masks. They represented animals and were worn on the head. Span-long dolls served as children's toys and were also stuck on a pole in the roof of the festival

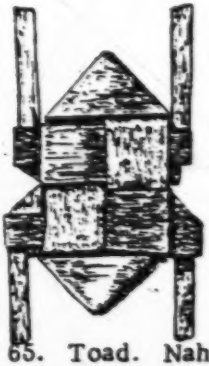

Fig. 65. Toad. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

hut as a sign that a masquerade was being celebrated; they announced to all the world: "Big dance entertainment today."

Fig. 66. Deer. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

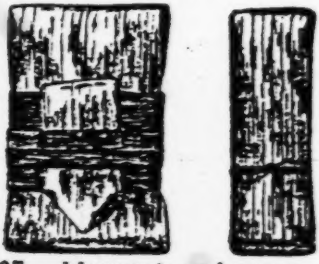

Fig. 67. Woman's and man's figure. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The two little dolls of Figure 68 /see p. 316/ seem to be very expressively summoning one for the merriment. In 1884 we came across larger straw figures, which were not used as headdresses, in front of the second Bakaïrí village on the Batovy. "Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, probably the remains from a festival." (They

/280 cont./

285 were meant to welcome the participants from the neighboring villages.) "They were made of leaves and straw, 532 535 /281/ mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 168 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 50/.

[524] →

Fig. 68. Invitation to the dance. Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

285 532 825 The maize figures, almost exclusively birds, are extremely characteristic of their enjoyment of art; we found the most attractive examples of them in the second Bakaïrí village. There they hung, almost as large as turkeys, on a long string from the vault of the dome, a strange sight for the person entering, who undoubtedly

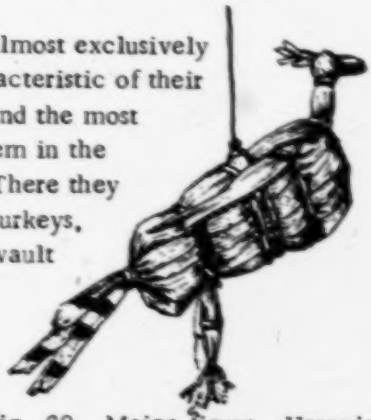

Fig. 69. Maize figure: Harpyia destructor. Bakaïrí. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[251] would think of idols and fetishes. But these fine birds were nothing but lovingly trimmed maize ears which were stored in their natural straw husks. I listed figures of Harpia destructor, a large and a small species of falcon, the snake

/283 cont./

#171 birds, often painted red. In illustration 73 /see p. 319/ we see
239 a karijo dove; the figure, 15 centimeters long, with the short
532 wing stumps, turned out very stiff.
825

Wooden figures. In discussing the dance ornaments I shall
532 deal with the carved and painted wooden masks separately. The
● 535 Bakaïrí, whose festival finery consisted mostly of straw caps,
825 straw suits, and straw animals worn on the head, carved birds of light wood for their headpieces. In 1884 we brought back from the Batovy a wonderful head-structure (illustrated in Durch Centralbrasilien, page 322 /see 1:Steinen, this file, p. 16/), where seven colorfully painted birds are mounted on three long rods wound with flocks of cotton, /284/ birds which at that time I took to be swallows, but in the meantime have been able to identify as sanyassú (Tanagra sayaca Neuw.). Those shown in No. 74 are similar birds, the larger of which represents a falcon, the small one the nimble shore birds : massarico (Calidris arenaria); there were many of them in the third Bakaïrí village on the Kulisehu. The neck is sharply set off from the body, a few lines show the markings of the feathers and a long stalk stuck

Fig. 74. Wooden figures: falcon and massarico. Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 75. Wooden fish of the Batovy Bakaïrí. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[301]

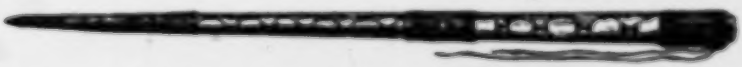

Fig. 76. Mandioca digger as a back-stick. Bakaïrí. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

through the body on the right and left and with its ends coming together again at the bottom represents the legs.

2: Steinen--339 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

I. Masks.

On the second journey our yield of dance ornaments and, above all, of face-masks was considerably larger than on the first. This is all the more important since the masks, which are, after all, distributed throughout the world in the most diverse forms and for the most diverse purposes, and which play such an important part among the Indians of northern America, have so far been observed only to a relatively slight extent in South America. It seems that they occur in particular in the Amazonas region, but it may only seem so. All the tribes have their dance festivals, all have pantomimes in which animals are portrayed, people adorn themselves with natural ornaments of skins or feathers, imitate the voices and movements, and spontaneously arrive at the characterizing mummery which makes the spectacle more effective. The technical skill of the mummery and its characterization certainly differs, but probably all hunting peoples reached the level which we come across among the Schingú tribes, again with an entirely different development of mimic devices. We are so poorly informed about this only because the opportunities to investigate living tribes in an undisturbed state are rare and can be only superficially exploited during a fleeting visit. Our own journey is the best example. In one region where in 1884 we came across strange headgear with animal imitations of straw, etc., but only two wooden dove-masks, in 1887 we brought back a handsome collection of face masks which, now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, permit an interesting comparison with the grotesque animal masks of the Tekuna /Tucuna/ from the upper Amazon River that are present there. Ehrenreich, too, brought back from the Karayá /Caraja/ on the Araguay /Araguaia/ a number of huge dance masks adorned in the most colorful manner with feathers, which in their construction remind one most strikingly of the Duk-duk of the South Sea.

Not only each tribe, but each village has its own masked dances. The center is always the "flute house." In their character the dances are extraordinarily alike throughout Brazil. Always the running around in a circle and the jerky singing corresponding

/296 cont./

171 532 535 [538] to the stamping. It is extremely characteristic that the Bakaïrí have the same word for "dancing" and "singing." "The meaning of the songs," says Martius, "is simple: praise of the warlike and hunting deeds of individuals or hordes, enumeration of certain animals and remarks about their characteristics. If masks appear at the festival, most of which represent animals, the wearers imitate their voices."

171 123 532 We did not observe anything that would permit us to conclude that the masks are in any way regarded as sacred. The pieces plaited out of palm straw in particular were all heedlessly tossed aside after use. True, the masks were sometimes hidden from us, but only in the same way that /297/ all portable utensils and ornaments were hidden from us, out of fear of robbery. Once the people had gained confidence in us, they surrendered their masks to us without further ado and made new ones to order. They were demonstrated for us with joking and laughter, like a pretty toy.

527 Among the docile Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ on the Paranatinga and the Rio Novo the principal festival usually occurred in April. I, with my civilized conceptions, was pursuing the idea of a feast of thanksgiving and thought of the possibility that the festival held at harvest time was somehow being celebrated in praise and honor of some friendly powers regarded as the givers of good things. I therefore tried to find out from Antonio whether anything like that could be established. Antonio, however, did not respond to my suggestion. "We celebrate the festival around harvest time," he declared, "because then we have something to celebrate; in the dry period we must save, in the rainy season everything would become moldy." Materialistic, but understandable.*

*"Usually a surplus of supplies for the beverages is the occasion for the festival," says Martius, "but where European custom has asserted itself and Christians live next to Indians, a saint's day will probably be chosen for it."

/297 cont./

B 527 535 773 *[191] According to everything that the natives told us about the festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakaïrí legend describes the origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakaïrí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B 529 535 539 "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B T 529 535 628 648 B *[191] A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals. Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

B *191 179 535 For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereschu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

/298 cont./

171 345 ●535 562 Furthermore, however, it is easily understandable that the women are strictly excluded from the ceremonious dances and may not enter the flute house, the house of the men where foreign visitors are welcomed and entertained. It is probably in this sense that one should interpret the strange masquerade which we experienced in the second Bakaïrí village, when the food and drink for our flute-house band was fetched by a masked Indian of the first village from the women, who would not have been permitted to bring it. Cf. page 63. Behind the jest lay the

[114]

* At that place there is a sentence which was left in by mistake and which contains an idea long since given up by me -- the final sentence that there is perhaps a connection with the custom of eating alone. /The sentence referred to, which was omitted in the translation in accordance with the corrections listed on p. 571, reads as follows. Perhaps there is a connection between the custom of being veiled when one brings his gift of hospitality and the custom of eating alone, against which one cannot transgress without arousing the sense of shame of the others./

serious motive that strangers and women should be limited in their intercourse. The Mohammedan takes the opposite course, in that he masks his women and shuts them up in special chambers.

*171 535 562 In the origin of the dance itself, moreover, there is a fundamental reason against the participation of the female sex. These are "unfeminine" pleasures which have developed from hunters' festivals. Nevertheless, there seem to be distinctions. The women never take part in the big festivals, the Bakaïrí said, but in the small ones they do. they are also said to dance by themselves occationally, without men. The Suyá, however, seem to think otherwise. at any rate, the Bakaïrí expressed themselves very contemptuously about the misbehavior there, "men danced with women." Perhaps it is advisable to point out,

/298 cont./

*171 finally, that there was not the slightest trace of any secrets and
●535 mysteries or of any special relationship of the medicine men to
542 the dances which were supposed to be kept secret from the women.

*171 It is also for protection against feminine curiosity that the
345 entrances of the flute houses on the Kuliseu are made so low
542 that one can enter only in a very stooped position or even must slide in on the knees. I do not know to what extent the prohibition for the women is carried out in practice in everyday life, but we did not obtain permission to measure them in the flute house, and certainly it was said "the women would be killed if they went into the flute house" -- a rather crude variant of "mulier taceat in ecclesia" /the woman is to be silent in church/.

[349] That the custom was still taken seriously among the docile Bakairí some 30 or 40 years ago is best illustrated by an experience which, according to the story of an old Brazilian, the priests who brought Christianity were obliged to undergo. They found nothing more natural than to assemble the new congregation in the flute house which was so well suited for church purposes because it was uninhabited. /299/ The men came willingly enough, but the women remained outside and were persuaded only with great difficulty to risk physical danger for the sake of the salvation of their souls.

*171 Among all the tribes the body is partially or completely
535 covered with aprons or cloaks for the masked dances. Leaf strips of buriti straw or dry gram blades about a meter long were strung on a cord to make a wide apron and were wound around the neck several times so that they hung down from the shoulders, or around the /Fig. 90 appears here/ hips so that they reached to the ankles, or combined in both forms. The chief difference

[525] is in the ornament for the head. Common to all is the connection with animals. Here we may distinguish

1. Imitations of animals are put on. Bakairí.

2. Straw caps with long fiber hangings, in part bearing attributes of the animal. Bakairí.

3. Fish net in front of the face. Nahuquá.

4. Straw lattice in the fashion of the sieve-filter, in an oval hoop. Without facial parts. Bakairí, Nahuquá. Facial parts of wax. Auetö.

/299 cont./

* 191 535 5. Oval frames on which are stretched netting, cotton plaiting, and cotton weaving. Facial parts of wax pasted on, eyes of cotton flocks, beans, mother-of-pearl. Painted. Bakaïrí, Auetó, Kamayurá, Trumaí.

* 191 532 635 6. Wooden masks. Square wooden plates with mighty bulging forehead and nose of human form. Painted on natural markings of the animal, outline of the animal, body parts of the animal (wings, fins), stylized animal designs. Eyes of mussel shell, mouth with fish teeth pasted on with wax; the latter, like the former, again of human shape. Bakaïrí, Nahuquá, Auetó, Kamayurá, and, in the largest development, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/. The Mehinakú had only wooden masks. A transitional form between 5 and 6, without the forehead bulge and oval, among the Auetó.

Fig. 90. Imeo dancer. Bakaïrí.

* 191 529 535 [197] In the masked festivals borrowings from foreign tribes, which are suggested through visits, and local cultivation of special variations are undoubtedly mixed.

Cologne, Düsseldorf, Mainz, and Trier also have, in their carnival societies, different caps, different insignia, different customs /300/ in the meetings, different songs, different slogans, and different motifs for the vehicles of the procession. Here, too, special "ladies' meetings" are announced for the participation of the female sex, and the women rigorously guard

/300 cont./

*171 527 535 against appearing in the "flute house" at an inappropriate time, though they may hope to come out again alive, or at most only half dead. Carnival on the Kulisehu is also followed by a period of fasting, for it does not end -- the reason is not one connected with the cult -- before everything that is there has been eaten and drunk insofar as possible. The women have an enormous job satisfying the demands for beijús and drinks; they must pound, boil, and bake incessantly, and this necessity has probably also contributed somewhat to their being kept away from the dancing, so that they could meanwhile carry out their duties.

[462] [262] [272]

535 Bakaïrí. On the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the old customs are still observed. "Everybody dances like the wild Bakaïrí," said Antonio, "tudo dansa como Bakaïrí brabo." He described to me the festival held last April, when the people from the Rio Novo had invited those of the Paranatinga. They danced the yatuka dance, the makanri, and the imeo. Yatuka is a fish dance; wooden fish are worn on the head, especially the black pakú and the matrincham; heads of men and women are made of calabashes painted black and white or black and red and surrounded with Bromelia hair.

Makanari is a general term. The Bakaïrí calls almost everything and anything that is part of his dance adornment makanari; he calls specific dances makanari. "bakaïrí makanári zóto," the Bakaïrí is master of the makanari. It is the dance of his tribe. The imeo is a type of makanari, a specific figure. In fact, it seems that the concept of makanari was originally narrower and referred to a specific dance with straw plaiting. Among the docile Bakaïrí there are no wooden masks. Here the principal makanari is the bat dance, and, to be sure, semímo, the small bat, and aluá, the large bat. Antonio recited the text of the aluá dance* for me, but, in spite of a great deal of trouble, it

[532] [533]

535 539

*One man sings: ohuhaaha-âhá yumáa ohú..... yumarí uvanuká, yumari uvanuká huyaná vitá öö....yohohohú. Then another: mauá káua

/300 cont./

535 539 káuayú, mauákauayú hohohú. aluá...aluhá, aluá miyevené yanávitá hö...ohohohú. ihöhö... hohú, he..hirámiturí hohó, yukévené yohó hohohohú. Now all in circular motion: ohú namiturí ohú namituhurí ohoyócho yóchu hohuhó. ayarívénení kayarílö ohó namiturí ohú namituhurú ohó oyochó yochu. Now out on the plaza: yochó huyócho huyóchó huyóchohú huyócho. makavó makavó yuuávitirá inávitáhané, iná yochohuyócho..... Finally, turning around: aschimámayú ohuhohú ayavarikú hohuhoo, eveschírini mahúraní hoo, aschimámayú ohohu.....

535 533 was impossible for me to obtain a translation or even an explanation of the content. He said that he himself no longer understands the old words. I believe there was some truth in this, and that he was not merely, in his awkwardness, handing me an excuse, because even aluá itself is not a Bakaïrí or Karaiben /Carib/ word at all, but a Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ word. (See also the footnote, page 24.) Perhaps the text is also in part old Aruak -- no longer understood /301/ after it had been sung together at joint festivals and was taken over and mixed with Bakaïrí words.

535 The imeo makanari is common to all Bakaïrí. On the Kulisehu imóto, imódo, is added as a related figure. Imeo is a [825] white animal that lives in the dried-up buriti palm -- as far as I understood, the larva of a palm-boring beetle. imodo, a related creature, reddish with a black head. A strange selection, somewhat reminiscent of the Midsummer Night's Dream. It [824] is explained, however, if one remembers that the material for the dance costumes is furnished primarily by the buriti palm, which that insect inhabits. And this may be a tasty morsel besides. /Fig. 91 appears here./ Other animals also appear in this makanari, especially the bat and the pintado sheatfish, Fig. 91 /see p. 347/. The latter mask is easy to understand. A costume plaited out of coarse, hard grass covers the body, but the wearer can look through the plaiting without difficulty, and a long piece

/301 cont./

535 of vine characterizes the barbels of the fish. The costume for the other figures of the dance consists of a straw cap with long fiber hangings all around, pulled down over the entire head, and a garment plaited out of buriti leaf strips, which we found on the Batovy even in 1884. Straw caps without a stem belong to the semímo or bat dancer the imódo (on the left in Figure 92 /see p. 348/) has on its cap a stem with one or even two knob-like thickenings, the imeo (Figure 92, right) a bundle of knobbed stems. The imódo was also hung up in the hut as a maize doll (cf. page 317). Finally, a cap with five little cane rods arranged like Pan-pipes plaited into the stem was called enoschibíro; this, however, is the name of the wood out of which the flutes are carved. The mask represented a whistling bird which I could not identify. The measurements of this cap are: total length 86 centimeters, top piece 11.5 centimeters, actual cap 22.5 centimeters, hangings 52 centimeters.

[532]

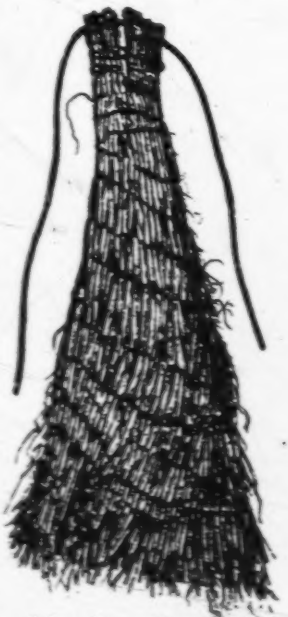

Fig. 91. Sheatfish mask. Bakaïrí. (1/16 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The buriti doublet of the imeo dance, with fringed sleeves and trousers, Fig. 92, is very remarkable. We also found separate sleeves, which were worn in connection with the loose straw hangings. One steps into the suit at the neck; the width there is one and a quarter meters and a string is inserted for drawing it together. The Bakaïrí tried to put on European shirts in the same awkward way. Between the trouser legs there is a slit that is laced together with a thin cord. /302/ If our clothing owes its origin to a sense of modesty, the Bakaïrí has taken another course, or he must be regarded as a bad satirist, for on some specimens he has hung on the outside a penis consisting of a

[831]

/302 cont./

[535] [831] little piece of an ear of maize together with testicles of plaiting. Inevitably we feel forced to assume that a human individual is being presented to us. This is not necessarily the case, however, for, [825] conversely, it seems self-evident to the Indian that the animal portrayed appears and acts with all human characteristics, and he

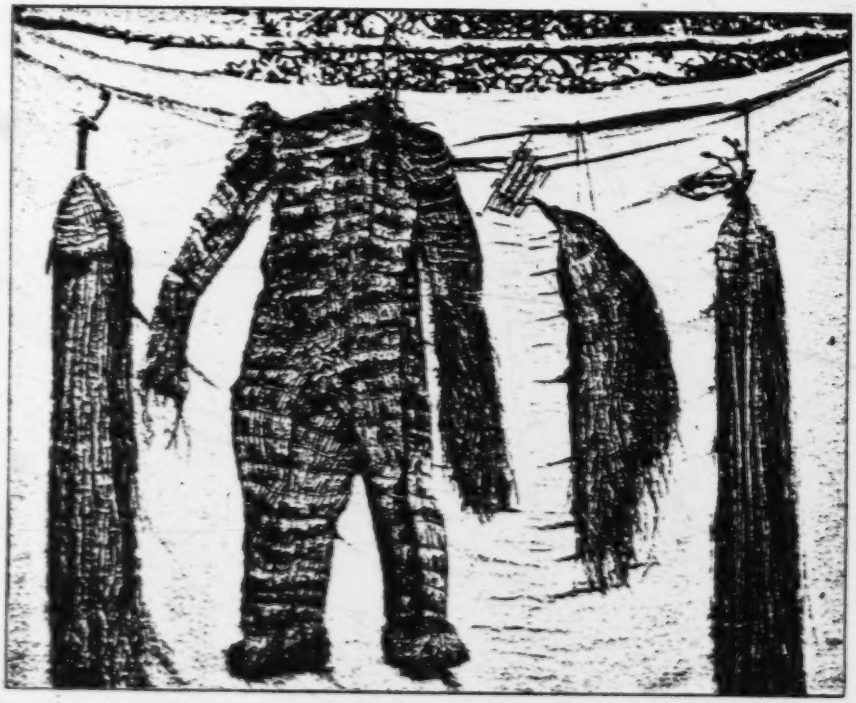

Fig. 92. Mahanari of the Bakaïrí.
imaco. Imeo. Enoschibiro. imeo.

also gives the face masks of his animals human features.

The dance on the Batovy, the ornamental attire for which we found in 1884 in the flute house of the second Bakaïrí village, is called imiga. (Cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, (p. 170 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 51/.) There were painted gourds, with feathers pasted on and open at the bottom, with carved birds looking out, the stuffed skin of a campo fox and an otter, a

/302 cont./

●535 framework of stalks in which sat small sanyassa birds amidst flocks of cotton, lizards plaited out of straw, as well as two sword-like pieces of wood painted black and white, which represented rattle-snakes -- /303/ all, except the circularly cutout ball-gourds, were provided with straw funnels for setting them on the head. In addition, rattle-
[534] gourds and foot-rattles made of hard fruit shells.

532 535 As for masks, I obtained in Maigĕri a longish oval mask of net plaiting with a beard of buriti fibers, a pendant of Orthalicus shells, and a wide-meshed net hood trimmed with curassow feathers. In the upper third, which is vertically intersected by a white stripe, but otherwise is painted red and dotted with black, there are the two eyes in the form of two straw rings; a band of straw borders the tongue-shaped nose which is on the edge above the eyes.
[531] The lower two thirds have a white loam background and on it exhibit the mereschu design in black and neatly drawn. The most striking thing, however, is the picture of a piava fish, tonĭschi, which in the continuation of the stripe in the center of the face stands in the middle of the mereschu design. The black dotting of the upper part is probably also connected with it.

Fig. 93.
Net plaited-mask with piava fish. Bakaĭrĭ.
(1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

We obtained eight wooden masks, all with black, red, and usually also white painting. They are heavy, flat wooden plates
[322] laboriously worked out with the stone ax, out of which the forehead part projects with considerable curvature.

/303 cont./

532 part projects with considerable curvature. They also have a huge
535 nose of human shape, which, along with the rest, is carved out
[239] of one piece. The mouth consists of a set of piranha teeth pasted on with wax. The eyes are small holes decorated with little pieces of mother-of-pearl, or they appear in two masks as a pair of river mussels pierced in the center. Hoods, from which, as always, long straw hangings flutter down, are plaited on the wooden
[239] plates for putting them on the head. In the places corresponding
[619] to the ears, the Bakaïrí were in the habit of inserting two beautiful yellow japú feathers (Cassicus), which they themselves wear as a sort of tribal mark. These feathers are also to be noted on the costume of the man with the imeo cap (cf. page 344).

532 Six of the masks were identified for us as bird masks. We
535 have, first of all, a mask, Fig. 94 /see p. 351/, which represents
825 a dove, papadüri, secondly a /304/ /Figs. 94-97 appear here/ /305/ gull mask, kakaya, see Fig. 44, page 289, thirdly the mask of a small bird unknown to us, which is said to live along lagoons and is called alapübe, Fig. 95, fourthly the arakuma mask, which represents a cock of the woods and is characterized by a wooden stem representing the head ornament of the animal, Fig. 96, and, finally, two tüwetüwe masks, one with a black indented decoration, the other with a red one, which refer to a songbird with a white head and red shoulder markings, Fig. 97. Of the bird masks described, only the gull mask (cf. the illustration on page 289) has the mereschu decoration, and it may doubtless be assumed that this is supposed to characterize the fish-catching water bird, since the mereschu is not shown in the net but separately.

The two most attractive masks were called yakuá-ikúto, that is, "piranha picture." They bear red cheek markings; on the one specimen we see two red triangles with the tips touching between nose and mouth, and the triangles are so large that each takes up one-fourth of the plate. (Cf. Fig. 12, p. 168.) By means of this painting the larger piranha species of those waters, the papo amarello (yellow throat) of the Brazilians, adorned with a brilliant orange, is reproduced. The eyes are pierced shells. The

[TEXT Continues on p. 352]

532
535
825

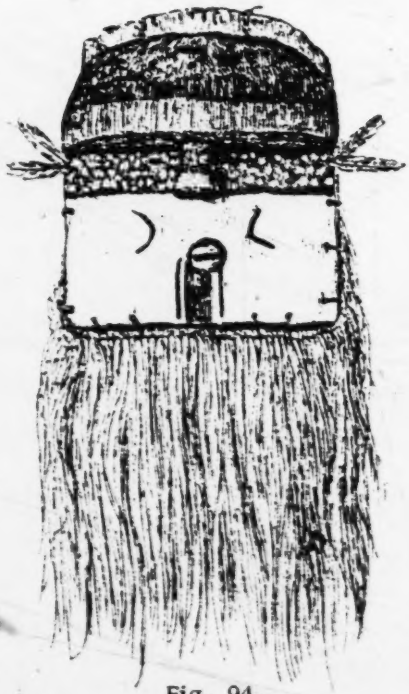

Fig. 94.
Papadüri dove. Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

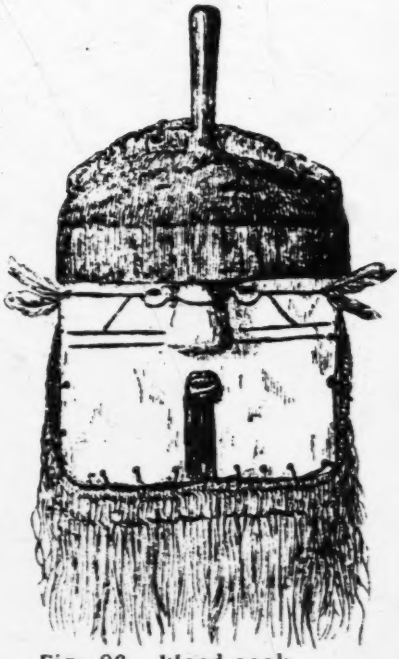

Fig. 96. Wood cock. Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

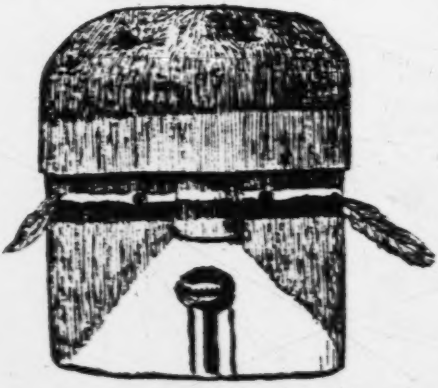

Fig. 95.
Alapübe bird. Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 97. Tüwetüwe bird. Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/305 cont./

The
532 handsomest decoration of these two masks, however, are the
535 enormous arara feathers inserted in the elongated nasal septum
825 and projecting far to the right and left. They are inserted into
237 a little bamboo rod decorated with tassels. Thus the Indians are so far from feeling obliged to give the animal represented its zoological physiognomy that they even pierce its nasal septum and adorn it with feathers, in accordance with their own custom.

535 We came across three fantastic dance costumes in the flute house of the third Bakaïrí village. Only one, however, was still in good condition. It was called kualóhe and looked like a small hut. This straw costume was truly a small house, and hence it is probably on account of the straw covering that the Bakaïrí call their dance costumes, including the buriti doublet provided with trouser legs and sleeves, "houses." The straw hoods were also called "head houses." The expression, however, when the word was transferred to our woolen shirts and cloth trousers, became incomprehensible. The monster was much too heavy for us to take along; it was almost ten meters in circumference at the bottom. It was constructed like a huge crinoline with five cross-hoops heavily covered with straw, but was worn on the shoulder with two bast loops attached to the upper ring. One of the Indians obliged us by crawling into it; he put on the tüwetüwe mask and went into twisting and rocking movements. The hollow tree lying in front of the festival hut was beaten as an accompaniment to the kualóhe. "It is not a makanari," the Bakaïrí say. I do not know whether they meant that it was of foreign origin. Also, I am un-
[136] able to decide whether there is a connection between this dance and the kurimatá fish (Salmo curimata), which in Bakaïrí /306/
[532] is called koálu. At any rate, the tüwetüwe mask, which the native dancing before us put on, does not go with it, but rather a kuábi sieve-mat. A sieve-mat consisting of little reedrods plaited together was provided with feather ornaments and worn in front of the face. This rush mask, or kuabi, however, lay in shreds on the ground.

Y /306 cont./

535 Nahuquá. I have already described on page 77 the eremo dance which the Nahuquá performed for us and in which a woman also took part. Plate 7 /see p. 73/ reproduces the little drama very well. The dancers, who, with nets in front of their faces, strode toward each other in an extremely stooped position and beat their green branches together rhythmically, were demonstrating with their pantomime the kinds of fishing done at the river hurdle or at

B
532
535

Fig. 98. Kualóhe dancer with tüwetüwe mask. Bakaïrí.

Y
535 similarly obstructed places; the fish are driven together at the narrow
Y exit and plunge into the nets held ready there. I have also reported
[534] on page 77 about the big round dance which they called amakakatí; obviously the gourd rattle, which is especially prized by the Nahuquá, played an important role in it.

/317 cont./

T 532 535 [171]

as for straw mats. Some /318/ of the plaited masks are of the same type as among the Auetö and Kamayurá, but usually the entire surface of the texture is covered with the black mereschu design on a white background, in one case with horizontal rhombuses and without neck stripe or center stripe, while on others the latter is reduced to a black line. /Figs. 116 and 117 appear here./

Eyes and nose are usually three equal-sized lumps of wax next to one another in a row and knotted on with a piece of buriti fiber. On only one mask is a pair of bright shell disks pressed on the eye-lumps. The mouth is a black wax ring that looks like a pessary and so large that nose and mouth have room in it. All the facial parts are confined to the upper half, in fact the upper third, of the oval.

On a number of masks the painting is simply a black background with a red center stripe or a red background with a black center stripe in which nose and mouth are placed or which extends only to the mouth.

/319/ In the case of three masks, however, there is more. On No. 1: black background, white center stripe accompanied by a white line on either side; touching it is the triangular cheek part which consists of a red and a white stripe, the black background stripe, and a red border triangle. The mask reminds one very much of the first wax mask of the Auetö, Fig. 107 /see p. 360/. No. 2: black /Fig. 118 appears here/ background, red center stripe, two white border triangles on either side, outlined by a white zigzag line. No. 3: white background on the outside and top, inside a black background the width of the eyes and to a height to include the eyes, with a red center stripe up to the mouth ring.

B *171 532 535

II. Common Origin of the Masks and the Mereschu Design.

We have no difficulty understanding the Bakaïrí who put on animal figures plaited out of straw and heads of animal skins, but we cannot help but find it strange that there are facial parts of human form on the animal masks. One would expect a dove

[Text Continues on P. 371]

/319 cont./

B 171* 532 535 ●

mask, for example, to have a bill and not a nose with a mouth beneath it. On seeing such a dancer, one has the feeling that he is going to call out to us pleasantly: "Don't think that I am really a dove. I am a

T 532 535

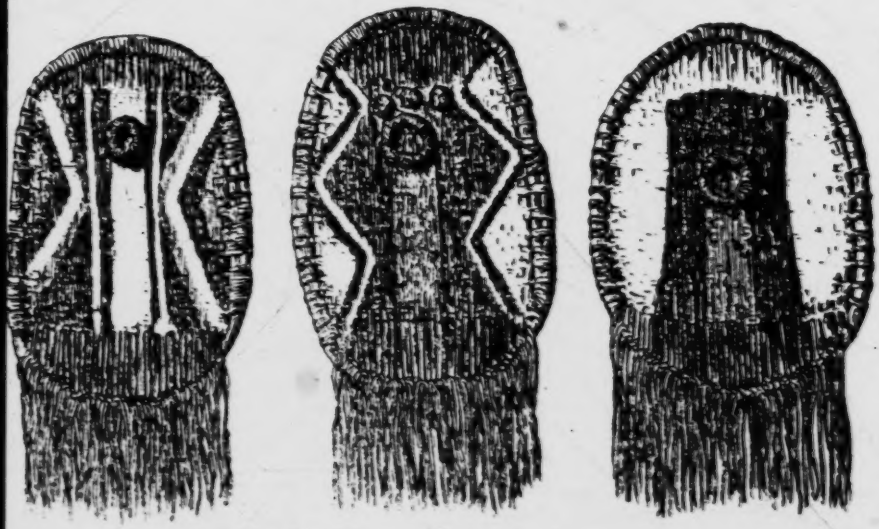

Fig. 118. Trumaí masks, painted black, white, and red. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B 171* 532 535

human being, like you, and am merely /320/ pretending to be a dove as you can hear by my cooing and can convince yourself by the painted dots on my feathers."

"Know ye, therefore, that I am Hans Schnock, the carpenter
Not a wild lion, forsooth, and not a lion's wife."

In fact, the masks are not by any means merely face masks. Eyes, nose, and mouth are restricted to the upper part of the field, and the center stripe marks the continuation of the body with the neck; wing, fin, side line, neck and shoulder markings appear next to it. On the fish makanari of the Bakaïrí, which is a work made with great care and love, we miss the mouth and see a large fish in the middle of the mereschu design. The Auetö, finally, look out from under their masks, through the hood; moreover, a large part of the wooden-mask eyes are made so that the holes are too small and not the proper distance apart to be suitable for looking through; they are for the spectator, not for the wearer.

/320 cont./

*171 532 ● 535 How should we picture to ourselves the developmental history of the masks? Let us take as a starting point the straw hoods of the Bakaïrí and their pintado mask, page 346. This masquerade was already a great advance as compared to their dressing up in an animal skin and hangings of strips of straw. The people plaited animals for themselves, put some on their heads and crawled into others. From the products of the drawing art and from the plaited figures we know how little they need for characterization. They drew a piece of vine through the upper part of the costume; that was the barbels and sufficed for a demonstration of a pintado fish. They do not find it necessary to carry the imitation further; even today they do not need a pintado face-mask. The Indians enhanced the effect of their straw hoods, however, by putting wax eyes, nose, and mouth on them and plaiting in a hoop that outlined the oval of a face. This mask was more decorative than imitative; it developed from the straw lattice to the fiber plaiting that could have loam put on it and be painted; it was provided with the fish design or the markings of an animal, or an animal was painted on.

*171 535 532 825 [527] It is very natural that fish should play the chief role, since they were caught in masses on their expeditions and thus furnished the opportunity for a general festival. The yakuí dance, the dance of the small schakú chickens, may also be associated with more abundant hunting booty. "All the larger species maintain themselves individually, the smaller ones usually gather in large flocks which may grow to a hundred or more individuals." (Brehm's Tierleben /Animal Life/, Vögel /Birds/ II, page 628). Thus we are not surprised that we hear nothing about the jaguar or the tapir or other game mammals that appear in the Tekuna masks: these furnished only occasional booty, whereas it was precisely quantity that offered the occasion for a banquet to be celebrated with many neighbors.

*171 532 535 /321/ If one recalls, however, how the Nahuquá covered the head with a fish net for their eremo dance and demonstrated by their pantomime the herding together of fish by a band of people, one will not reject the thought that the oval woven mask has more

/321 cont./

*171 than external similarity in common with the fish net stretched in
532 a frame in the same shape. If the Indian had hit upon the idea of
535 the mask-hoop by starting from the shape of the face, he would
have used the entire field for the face, whereas the latter now
takes up only a part of the space and is treated with less care than
the painting. The fish makanari of the Bakaïrí is nothing but a
net with narrow meshes and thus suitable for holding the loam.
[239] The net hood attached to it could be there today for the sake of
the feather ornamentation, since the feathers must be tied into
the meshes, but for this reason it is just as likely possible that
the net is older then the feathers, which are otherwise missing on
the hoods. Perhaps our oldest oval plaited mask, therefore, is
merely the fish net added to the straw costume and decoratively
fashioned. In this case it is far easier to understand why the
characterization of the animal is so little emphasized; the net
was decorated and even characteristically decorated, but it was
not incorporated into the costume for the sake of an anatomical
likeness.

171 This also gives us an explanation of the mereschu design. The
53 mask -- fish-net was plaited more closely because it concealed
better and could now be painted. But the old, wide-meshed net
was painted on and the little fish set in. There is one point which
seems to me to prove that I am right, a point which is very
strange by itself, but would then be quite easily explained. My
cousin Wilhelm pointed out to me that the Indian always paints
the mereschu design standing, that is to say, the larger diagonal
of the rhombus upright, the smaller one crosswise. This can no
longer be seen on the round spindle whorls when they are finished,
but we watched the incising and observed that the figure was
made standing, and precisely the same thing happened in the
pencil drawings. I could not therefore show the figure on page
288, Fig. 43, horizontally, which would probably have seemed
more natural to us, I therefore also arranged all the spindle
whorls with the mereschus horizontal, and lastly, though more
for fun, I stood the original mereschu, page 286, on its tail.

/322 cont./

*171 531 825 Nowadays the design has become purely ornamental. There is no direct, inherent connection between the mandioca digging sticks and the little lagoon fish. But one thing will have to be admitted. The significance of the little fish grew far beyond what it was originally because it recalled happy days of festivity: all industry having to do with drinking, feasting, and adornment seized upon it. Thus, there is good reason why the large gourds and calabashes in which the pogu is served, the beijú turners with which the hospitable cakes are tirelessly turned on such days, the gourd vessels in which the gorgeous feathers were kept, the rattle-gourds waved for the dance, the spindle whorls with which the thread for the woven masks was spun, why all these and similar things were decorated with the mereschu fish. The origin of ornamentation lies in a motivated feeling, and it is only when its manifestations have become numerous and trivial that no one sees anything but figure and color. The favorite pictures of our people appear after all on colored handkerchiefs. The mereschu design was able to spread from tribe to tribe and became established everywhere just because it grew out of the festival dances in which all the tribes joined.

/323/ Yet it should not be forgotten that the Indian even today remains aware of the concrete original. The Bakaïrí does [562] [535] not put a mereschu fish on his masks, with the exception of the gull mask, Figure 44, and the fish makanari, Figure 93, and among other tribes too -- see the wax masks of the Auetó and the black, white, and red masks of the Trumaí -- there are distinct differences which I am unable to define more specifically. In the beginning, the fish was not appropriate in all the cases where today the rhombus has already crept in or will creep in soon.

*171 53 One must now ask the question: if the woven masks and the mereschu design go back to the fish net, are there any facts for determining which tribe was the inventor? The mereschu fish was designated to me as a "lagoon fish" (we ate it among the Yaulapiti), but it occurs everywhere in our area, even in the [226] Paranatinga. Fishing with nets is also practiced by all tribes.

/324 cont./

A 535 "song," and therefore their chief dance was called yauarí-maraká. One man also gave a strange performance by dancing bent over and rubbing two arrows over the ground, a woman behind him: kurukú he.

A 533 The women, kunyá, who are, of course, regarded as the best booty, were often mentioned in the songs. In the dance pantomime, especially during the amurikumá dance, it was often made clear that the women were handing over fish. The dances start early in the morning and last until sunset.

Fig. 120. Dogfish dance-staff. Kamayurá. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

T 171 526 Dance clubs, similar to the one of the Kamayurá, illustrated, in part with plaiting prettily around them, were also found among the Trumaí. Among the Aueto we obtained a dance ornament, the shape of which was reminiscent of the horsetail of a drum major: from a piece of hoop, on either side and in the center, hung tails of buriti fibers almost half a meter long.

A 412 234 →

A 239 For the dance with hüvát máiks among the Kamayurá there were two staffs, haéaté, 80 centimeters long, at the tip of which the set of teeth of a dogfish was plaited into a /325/ triangular attachment in such a way that the two long pointed teeth, the favorite boring and cutting instruments of the Indian, stuck out at the top.

B #171 535 As may be seen, the dance has its psychological development. It clearly reflects the progress of culture. In the beginning the animal is presented in pantomime, its voice is imitated, and its shape copied in the straw masquerade; the masking art with its fertile motifs for all painting develops from the fish net -- here the implement with its technique has already become the chief focus of interest as over against the animal figure. The throwing

/325 cont./

*191 board and the club die out as weapons among the more peace-
●585 fully minded field-cultivators, but they remain as dance ornaments; the throwing stones are replaced on the arrow by lumps of wax, and small ones hang around the necks of the children as amulets. The Bakaïrí makes two insects living in the palm tree the center of his dances with buriti plaiting. The Kamayurá wears the set of teeth of the dogfish as a festive ornament during the fish dance; he and the Auetö also make ornamental whorls in place of the work spindle-whorls and immediately arrive at new designs because they need paint them with only temporary designs for the purpose of the moment (cf. page 307); the Bakaïrí, in the back-sticks, creates a peculiar dance ornament out of the mandioca digging sticks, and here, too, in the free exercise of art, there arise new motifs, both the form, in that the pointed wooden cylinder was changed, and the design of the drawing (cf. pages 294, 296, 320).

Everywhere here we still find the prosaic, useful activity, either hunting, fishing, or other work, preceding the ornamentation. Let us make clear to ourselves once again that man did not adorn himself by looking around in free nature for something that was attractive and putting it on his body; rather, he discovered beauty only after he had sought and adopted the material for useful purposes. But meanwhile he has gained a great supply of form- and color-motifs; he seeks to apply them everywhere and has raised the ornamentation itself to a kind of art which unfolds most freely in dance and festive play where an excess of energy asserts itself.

-191 Musical instruments. "In the music of the Indian the feel-
533 ing for rhythm is most pronounced, but he produces only weak fragments of melodies and /326/ he seems to have no idea of the emotional power of harmony." I am quoting Martius here, if only because I am not sure whether the Indians are not more
*191 musical than I am. It was true, everything that we heard was
534 merely an expression of beat and rhythm. I am therefore counting the rattles, which only produce noise, among their musical instruments. They had foot rattles, bunches of hard

/21 cont./
701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been
342 built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men
342 and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased.
574 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it, from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces
[302] painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies
[533] as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room.
[535] Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table
[352] and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was
[123] entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
622 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old
115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

/27 cont./

162 the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and
36 children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest
166 had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

178 According to Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa's description, the
433 Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the
622 year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique
[361] Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly de-
[241] creased through José Coroado's defection with his people and
[231] through the independent stand of Cacique Kurutú, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and aboborra /gourds/, and raised
[234] many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted
[648] themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher Jange Soares had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 64.

184 José Coroado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses.
361 He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some
241 pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurutú's
231

35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

178 /28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the
[535] Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing,
[291] the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

/28 cont./

178 in form, placed in front under the belt, which consists of glass
535 beads strung on a thread. Face and body were painted with
291 urucũ and genipap in red and black. At this time, too, cases
302 of illness were imputed to the influence of some sorcerer, and
754 shortly before the expedition of Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa a Paranatinga Bakairí had been shot to death because the Indians ascribed the consequences of a flu epidemic to his witchcraft.

114 In his book Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen (36)

[113] 36. Hintermann, Heinrich. Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen /Among Indians and Boa Constrictors/. Zurich and Leipzig, 1926.

Heinrich Hintermann relates the incidents and outcome of a journey to the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries. He had the opportunity to accompany a military expedition led by the Brazilian, Captain Vicente de Vasconcellos, which was carried out in the year 1924 for the Commissão de Linhas Telegr. Est. de Matto Grosso ao Amazonas to measure the Rio Ronuro and establish relations between the administration of the new Simões Lopes Post, established by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/, and the Indians of the
[166] Kulisehu and Kuluene rivers. We know from Hintermann that already at that time, all the Kulisehu Bakairí had moved to the Simões Lopes Post, which was established at the same place where José Coroado had already set up his aldea before.

During my journey carried out in the year 1927 I had the opportunity to become personally acquainted once more, after an interval of 26 years, with the conditions of the Bakairí. (37)

[113] 37. Cf. the preliminary reports on the results of this trip: Max Schmidt, "Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungreise in Matto Grosso.

/36 cont./

285
184
[113]

Cf. Idem., "Ableitung südamerikanischer Geflechtsmuster aus der Technik des Flechtens /Derivation of South American Plaiting Pattern from the Technique of Plaiting/." Zeitsch. f. Ethn., 1904. Heft 3 and 4. pp. 490-512. Idem., "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas /The Technical Bases in the Ornamentation of the South American Natives/." Ipek. Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst. 1928. pp. 142-174.

discuss the plaited objects that I collected from the Simões Lopes Bakairí in a special section that follows. In addition to plaited objects I was primarily concerned with the acquisition of a mortar and its corresponding pestle and a triangular barbecue, because the relevant collections of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum did not include any specimen of these Bakairí objects which are to be found in almost every settlement of these Indians. The wooden mortar which I brought from Simões Lopes (V.B. 9883, called ôro by the Kulisehu Bakairí) is shown in Figure 29. Its height reaches 38 cm. and the rim diameter 25 cm. From the irregular shape of the bottom it may be assumed that the lower part of the mortar was implanted in the ground. The corresponding pestle (V.B. 9884) has a length of 95 cm. and is shown in Figure 28. The barbecue shown in Figure 30 and called by the Kulisehu Bakairí si(r)ka has the usual triangular shape of Bakairí barbecues. The sticks of which this barbecue consists are bound together with tree bark. Its height reaches 105 cm.

126
412

252
419

535
126

I found the dancing sticks shown in Figures 33 a-d and 34 a-d (V.B. 9942, 9943, 9945-9948, 9951, and 10071) in

/36 cont./

535 126 [531] Cacique Pires' house, where they were used in the dance fiestas staged at specific times by the Xinguanos. The fire-engraved embellishments enhanced with black paint are wholly ancestral. Besides circles and spirals they also include other decorative elements of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí. The length of these sticks reaches from 76 cm. to 100 cm. and their diameter from 1.7 cm. to 4.5 cm.

532 126 Of the figures made of maize husks, such as the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries had in former times, I found two specimens in the settlement of Xinguanos on the Rio Paranatinga, which represent birds (V.B. 9964 and 9965. Length 15 cm.) A ball made of husks of ears of maize (V.B. 9966. Length 21 cm.) such as was used by the Bakairí of the Kulisehu in general for their game with a ball, which they called nóju, is shown in Figure 31. b.

126 532 751 Small figures in the form of the human figure shown on Figure 23. d (V.B. 9961. Length 10 cm.) were placed, in Sumbes Lopes, around the /37/ necks of newborn babies to protect them from illness. I had acquired a good, old specimen of such a figure which was tied with an animal claw from the necklace of the little girl of a woman belonging to the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Novo. A day later she came with her child to ask me to return to her the necklace with the pendant, because the child had fallen ill after the loss of the necklace. She exchanged the old figure for the new one shown in Figure 23. d.

211 194 179 Finally, I must still mention the notched board shown on Figure 31. a (V.B. 9969. Length 23.5 cm.) Since such boards, probably intended as mnemonic aids, are not found among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries, we must assume that this case is an instance of foreign influence in later times.

Plate XV

535
531

Fig. 33. a-d. Dance sticks of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 34. a-d. Dance sticks of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

/268 cont./

534 sticks decorated with geometric designs. These sticks are still used in Bakairí dances in Simões Lopes.

• 535 533 Our informants remembered the following dances and songs: oriko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; iauaisíri, the maize song; mahulauari, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pahoevatá, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or anjéintabiénli.

535 532 825 [784] In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the iamíira, lords of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

793 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Nakoeri. (17) Tchina and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 45-50, 235-240.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same task of /269/ creating the [616] [174] Bakairí is attributed to Nakoeri. The nonexistence of moieties among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The 539 Paranatinga Indians told us the following myth:

Iamadili or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] been were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *amápa*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of com-
241 munal houses, participated. The *kowatí*, or col-
476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of for-
[242] est land. The women would participate by pre-
423 paring large amounts of food and honey beverage
476 for the workers. The new field would remain the property of the man who initiated the *kowatí*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

347 House building was always an enterprise in
476 which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a cer-
tain number of men began to put up the frame-
work, others went to gather grass for thatching.
[538] When they returned with the thatching they put on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *matukwedri* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

286 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective
476 enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tulih*) were
629 organized by the chief of the village. During
574 the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and
[622] canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

[P.94-A7]

844 with a bamboo sliver. The placenta was wrapped in a piece of cotton cloth and buried because it was believed that if it were picked at by birds it would cause sickness and misfortune to the mother and child. The child was then washed, wrapped, [553] and given to the mother. Later it was given the name of one of its ancestors.

846 During the seclusion period the mother and child were believed to be in a state of ritual danger (*wuaki*). They were not permitted to go out in daylight and had to be fed and cared for by the female relatives. The first menses released the mother and child from seclusion, this release being known as *tadawuito*. Shortly afterward the father invited the villagers to a ceremony (*itabiraki*) [533] during which the *aokigóro* and *taddawa* flutes were [535] played and only the women danced. By means of this ceremony the mother was reintegrated into the life of the family and the village.

847 After 3 years of age both boys and girls began to 848 copy their elders, the boys playing with bows and arrows and the girls with spindles. By the time the boys and girls reached puberty they knew how to perform most adult activities.

PUBERTY RITES

851 When the girls had their first menses and the boys reached the age of 13 or 14, they had to go into seclusion (*poseptóro*) for a period of 2 months to a year. It was believed that the longer the young people stayed in seclusion the stronger they would become physically. The longer periods of seclusion were also believed to enhance the prestige of the family. The boys and girls were not permitted to come out in daylight, and were fed and cared for by their parents. While the boys and girls were in seclusion they made pots and baskets for family use.

851 With boys the seclusion was inaugurated by an 3c4 ear-piercing ceremony. A number of men with sons of about the same age would perform this rite collectively before invited guests. After eating [535] and drinking, the *poinudio* song and dance were performed. The boys were now in a state of *udaki*, ritual danger, and were secluded immediately after this rite. The girls' ears were pierced when they were babies, but the ear piercing of the boys corresponded to the period of the first menses of the girls.

[P.74-B]

881 The release from seclusion was signalized by the feast of *tadaunúto*. The parents of the young people accumulated much food and went on a big hunt on the day before the feast. The chief and all the villagers were invited to the ceremony during which all the Bacairí songs and dances were performed and the young people were presented gifts by the villagers. The girls would now take the strings of beads from around their waists and wear them around their necks and their mothers would give them cotton cords which they put around their hips and to which the uluri were attached. The boys and girls were now eligible for marriage.

MARRIAGE (TODOHOKÚINLE)

584 Marriages were arranged by parents or by older brothers or sisters. The father and mother of the boy, for instance, would take presents of ornaments and food to the parents of the girl. If the parents of the girl accepted the gifts it meant that they favored the marriage, and if they refused it meant that the suitor was not acceptable. The marriage ceremony took place in the girl's home, the date being arranged by the parents. At the girl's house the young couple were seated side by side with linked arms. They were then given advice by their respective parents and relatives. Marriage was not considered a period of ritual danger, nor were extensive feasts given. It appears to have been an affair involving only the families of the young couple.

BURIAL (EPIODÍLE)

764 The body was painted, ornaments were put on, and then the body was wrapped in a hammock and buried in a grave with the feet to the east so that the face would be toward the rising sun

768 Although old and worn objects were burnt, most of the property of the dead was shared among the relatives. The part of the house occupied by the dead person was washed, and clean sand was sprinkled on the floor. There was a mourning

765 period (*loyíno*) of 1 month, during which the immediate relatives were in a state of *ududi*.[1]

SHAMANISM

725 When a person died, the ghost (*kudépe*) went into the sky or into the water or sometimes wandered upon the earth. Ghosts of the dead often

[1] [ie. a state of ritual danger]

534 nut hulls tied together and fastened to the ankles of the dancers. There were at least four kinds of flutes. The *emíni* flute was made from two pieces of soft sapling hollowed out and fastened together with wax and string. This flute was about 3 feet long with four finger holes and a separate mouthpiece. The *kunagéru* flute was made like the *emíni* but was shorter and had a different sound. Both the *emíni* and the *kunagéru* were sacred flutes of the shamans and were always kept in the sacred flute house connected to the *kudoéti* where they were played only at night so as to prevent women from seeing them. If a woman were to see one of these flutes, misfortune would befall her. When the sacred flutes were played there was dancing but no singing. The *taddéuru* was a bamboo flute made in five different lengths without finger holes and was not sacred. The *nekigéru* was made by fastening four short tubes of bamboo of different lengths together. It was played in pairs, one player answering the other. This flute was not sacred and could be accompanied by singing. In addition to the rattles and flutes, the Bacairi used highly decorated sticks or batons called *kudóapuri* in some of their dances.

533 Besides the flutes and the dances performed to 535 their tunes, the Bacairi had songs and their corresponding dances which were not always accompanied by flute music; for instance, the *ortko* was a song and a dance performed with the decorated batons which could be performed at any time; the *puloewdto*, another general song and dance which also could be performed at any time; the *yawaiadri*, the corn song and dance in which neither the flutes nor batons were used; the *maiwaiadri*, performed during the house building ceremony without batons or flutes; and the *poiawdto*, sung and danced during the boys' ear piercing ceremony.

527 One of the most important ceremonial events of the year was the annual corn dance (*anjéiuabiendi*), which was performed when the corn ripened in the fields. The man who had the largest corn crop was the organizer of the ceremony. In order to have enough corn, the Bacairi usually planted special fields, the yields of which were used on this occasion. On the day before the corn gathering all the men went on a big hunt in order to have large quantities of meat ready for the feast. Early in the morning of the following day everyone went out to the fields to

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoéti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoéti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man 527 to man asking for a song leader. The man who 533 took the offered corn husk then began the *yawoiadri*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairi and how it made the people strong and healthy.

[89] The *ranaegéro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 364 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poiaudo* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *makalawadri* was performed during coopera- 376 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [529] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

284 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 537 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *yawaikima*. This

[P. 77-A]

dance was given at night accompanied b flute playing.

When a woman came out of seclusion afer the birth of a child the women of the village anced to the tunes of the *tadánuu* and *nokigóru* fites.

ORIGIN MYTHS

Although the Bacairí have many myth, only two were obtained. One of these is the *yuadilli*, or the origin of day: In the beginning it as so dark and cold in the world that the peop had to cover their bodies with grease to keep warm. The people wanted the sun to come out, s they put on their ornaments and painted their odies and began to pray to *orimóto*, the great spit who lived in the north. The Bacairí believe that *orimóto* was not an Indian but just a ma who lived in a stone house with some of the aimals which he had created. The people cotinued praying to *orimóto* and when light finally cme the people were old and the children had grow up.

Yuvitihadiho, or "those who died in te fire," is a story which tells about the origin of cutivated plants and the *yuveisári*, or corn danc: Once long ago there were a number of boys whowere in puberty seclusion. At that time there ere no cultivated plants, the people living by unting and collecting wild plant foods. The bos were kept in seclusion so long and had so litt to eat that they became very tired. One day wen the relatives of the boys went out to collect ood the boys all committed suicide. When the latives returned and found the boys dead they we sorry and angry with themselves for neglectin them. They built a large fire and after dancingaround the fire naked they jumped into the flaes and were burned to death. The leader of his act was *yuviti*. Later the soul of *yuviti* returned and spoke through one of the living Indians. He explained to the Indians how to grow corn and other food crops and how to perform the corn dance. After that the corn dance (*yuveisári*) has always been performed.

As the Bacairí formerly lived in associatio with the other Upper Xingú tribes, it is perhaps useful to compare their following origin myths as gathered by Von den Steinen with those of the Camayurá. There appears to be a close resemblance between *Kamuschiní* of the Bacairí and